

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 522 adults
Dates: December 13, 2003

Male 48
Female 52
[5]

FINAL

Study #6039
NBC News/Wall Street Journal
December 13, 2003

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 522 interviews is ±4.3%

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? (6038-1)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<i>High</i> <u>9/01</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	41	43	38	42	49	62	36	72	14	
Wrong track.....	48	47	50	44	38	22	47	11	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	8	6	8	9	8	13	14	11	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	4	5	3	3	6	6	[6]
	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>				
	43	44	42	40	52	53				
	42	42	43	42	31	28				
	13	14	12	14	14	15				
	2	-	3	4	3	4				
	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>			
	62	70	72	43	47	52	45			
	20	15	11	39	39	32	36			
	14	12	11	14	11	11	15			
	4	3	6	4	3	5	4			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president? (6038-2a)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<i>High</i> <u>11/01</u>	<i>Low</i> <u>6/01</u>	
Approve.....	52	51	49	56	62	71	88	50	
Disapprove.....	41	44	45	38	31	23	7	35	
Not sure.....	7	5	6	6	7	6	5	15	[7]
	<u>3/29- 30/03</u>	<u>3/23/03</u>	<u>3/17/03</u>	<u>2/03¹</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>		
	66	67	62	61	54	62	63		
	29	28	33	31	40	33	31		
	5	5	5	8	6	5	6		
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>11/01</u>	
	64	67	69	75	74	82	85	88	
	30	27	23	18	20	13	11	7	
	6	6	8	7	6	5	4	5	

¹ Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy? (6038-2b)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	
Approve.....	48	50	43	45	48	49	44	47	48	[8]
Disapprove.....	46	44	52	48	44	42	49	45	44	
Not sure.....	6	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	8	
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
	48	49	57	61	63	63	50	51	52	
	43	43	34	30	27	25	38	33	27	
	9	8	9	9	10	12	12	16	21	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy? (6038-2c)

	<u>12/13/03*</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	
Approve.....	48	48	47	55	63	70	51	57	58	[9]
Disapprove.....	47	48	46	39	31	24	42	36	35	
Not sure.....	5	4	7	6	6	6	7	7	7	
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
	55	62	64	68	81	82	50	63	53	
	34	28	28	26	13	12	32	26	20	
	11	10	8	6	6	6	18	11	27	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

2d. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing? (6038-2d)

	<u>12/13/03**</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Approve.....	56	56	60	66	64	66	[10]
Disapprove.....	38	39	34	28	28	27	
Not sure.....	5	5	6	6	8	7	
		<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	
		67	73	75	75	76	
		26	22	20	18	19	
		7	5	5	7	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

2e. Looking ahead to next year's presidential election, do you feel George W. Bush deserves to be re-elected, or do you feel he does not deserve to be re-elected?

Yes, deserves re-election.....	47	[11]
No, does not deserve re-election.....	46	
Not sure.....	7	

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing? (6038-3)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>High 9/98</u>	<u>Low 10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	39	43	39	42	44	42	44	44	61	22	[12]
Disapprove.....	47	45	45	45	41	39	39	40	28	69	
Not sure.....	14	11	16	13	15	19	17	16	11	9	
	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>				
	40	34	43	54	57	47	43				
	44	48	41	29	29	34	33				
	16	18	16	17	14	19	24				
	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>				
	45	48	55	49	46	46	43				
	32	35	30	35	41	42	46				
	23	17	15	16	13	12	11				
	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>3/00+</u>	<u>1/00</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>9/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>				
	42	43	48	45	42	40	43				
	44	40	36	42	45	49	41				
	14	17	16	13	13	11	16				
	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>					
	40	49	41	50	44	48					
	42	38	45	40	42	39					
	18	13	14	10	14	13					

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

4. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
George W. Bush							
December 13, 2003.....	35	19	8	15	23	-	[14]
November 2003.....	34	19	11	13	24	-	
September 2003.....	35	17	9	15	23	1	
July 2003.....	38	21	9	14	17	-	
May 2003.....	41	22	9	10	17	1	
January 2003.....	36	20	12	16	16	-	
December 2002.....	38	24	14	12	12	-	
October 2002+.....	37	24	11	12	15	1	
September 2002.....	38	25	14	11	12	-	
July 2002.....	40	26	11	11	12	-	
June 2002.....	43	27	11	10	9	-	
April 2002.....	47	25	13	8	7	-	
January 2002.....	53	26	10	7	4	-	
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001.....	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001.....	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
<i>Low</i>							
March 2000+.....	19	26	21	15	17	2	
Wesley Clark							
December 13, 2003.....	6	16	16	12	7	43	[15]
November 2003.....	4	15	21	11	8	40	
September 2003.....	7	11	22	6	6	48	
Howard Dean							
December 13, 2003.....	9	19	19	12	14	27	[16]
November 2003.....	3	15	21	11	10	39	
September 2003.....	3	15	21	10	10	42	
July 2003.....	5	10	16	5	9	55	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
Richard Gephardt							
December 13, 2003.....	4	20	27	14	11	24	[17]
January 2002.....	6	21	25	10	8	30	
September 1998.....	6	18	35	9	5	27	
October 1997.....	4	18	30	12	6	30	
September 1997.....	6	15	32	8	7	32	
March 1992.....	4	19	29	11	7	30	
March 1991.....	5	21	28	10	4	32	
John Edwards							
December 13, 2003.....	3	14	21	8	5	49	[18]
John Kerry							
December 13, 2003.....	3	18	20	13	11	36	[19]
December 2002.....	5	14	25	8	5	43	
Al Gore							
December 13, 2003.....	9	24	19	20	26	3	[20]
December 2002.....	11	20	22	17	27	3	
October 2002+.....	7	18	24	19	30	2	
June 2002.....	11	21	28	17	20	3	
January 2002.....	12	21	31	15	18	3	
June 2001.....	14	24	25	17	18	2	
March 2001.....	16	25	22	17	19	1	
January 2001.....	22	29	15	15	18	1	
December 2000.....	23	21	11	14	30	1	
November 27, 2000.....	31	16	10	17	26	-	
Likely voters November 2000+.....	25	22	15	17	20	1	
Likely voters October 2000+.....	24	25	11	15	25	-	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
October 2002+.....	7	18	24	19	30	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
Joe Lieberman							
December 13, 2003.....	6	23	26	16	11	18	[21]
January 2001.....	14	28	29	14	5	10	
December 2000.....	18	22	25	11	12	12	
October 2000+.....	19	28	27	9	6	11	
September 2000+.....	17	26	26	8	6	17	
August 2000+.....	19	21	27	7	4	22	
Laura Bush							
December 13, 2003.....	36	24	21	7	4	7	[22]
December 2001.....	49	27	16	2	2	4	
March 2001.....	28	24	33	3	2	10	
January 2001.....	16	18	34	4	5	23	
July 2000+.....	13	14	28	4	4	37	
Dick Cheney							
December 13, 2003.....	18	24	14	13	23	8	[23]
September 2003.....	21	25	16	14	18	7	
May 2003.....	24	23	18	10	14	10	
January 2003.....	20	27	23	12	13	5	
September 2002.....	23	27	21	12	12	5	
July 2002.....	24	28	19	10	13	6	
April 2002.....	27	29	22	8	10	4	
January 2002.....	32	30	21	6	5	6	
December 2001.....	36	27	23	3	6	5	
June 2001.....	26	22	22	14	11	5	
April 2001.....	31	21	22	10	9	7	
March 2001.....	30	26	22	8	6	8	
January 2001.....	23	26	26	9	7	9	
December 2000.....	23	26	22	10	11	8	
October 2000+.....	25	24	26	8	9	8	
<i>High</i>							
February 1991+.....	33	33	13	2	2	17	
<i>Low</i>							
July 2000+.....	19	23	26	9	6	17	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

Q.4 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Name/Not Sure</u>
Hillary Clinton							
December 13, 2003.....	21	25	12	12	30	1	[24]
July 2003.....	16	21	20	13	27	3	
March 2001.....	16	19	15	18	31	1	
January 2001.....	27	22	13	12	24	2	
December 2000.....	27	23	16	10	23	1	
October 2000+.....	20	19	15	14	31	1	
September 2000+.....	19	23	16	13	28	1	
June 2000+.....	19	22	16	13	29	1	
April 2000+.....	18	22	18	12	27	3	
March 2000+.....	18	24	19	15	23	1	
January 2000.....	21	23	18	13	24	1	
December 1999.....	19	22	17	13	28	1	
October 1999.....	21	24	13	16	25	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
<i>Low</i>							
October 2000+.....	20	19	15	14	31	1	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

5a. If President Bush runs for re-election in 2004, do you think you will probably vote for President Bush or probably vote for the Democratic candidate? (**IF "PRESIDENT BUSH" OR "DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE," ASK:**) And would you say that you will definitely vote for (President Bush/the Democratic candidate), or just probably vote for (President Bush/the Democratic candidate)? (**IF "NOT SURE," RECORD AS "PROBABLY."**) (Extended form of 6038-5a)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>
Definitely vote for President Bush.....	34	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	[25]
Probably vote for President Bush.....	12	43	42	45	47				
Probably vote for Democratic candidate.....	17	40	40	36	32				
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate..	23	NA	NA	NA	NA				
Vote for another party's candidate (VOL).....	1	2	2	3	2				
Depends on who opponent is (VOL).....	6	8	9	10	12				
Not sure.....	7	8	7	7	7				

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5b. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Howard Dean were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6036-5d)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
George W. Bush.....	51	50	48	52	[26]
Howard Dean.....	39	35	35	30	
Depends (VOL).....	1	2	3	3	
Neither/other (VOL).....	4	6	7	7	
Not sure.....	5	8	8	8	

5c. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Richard Gephardt were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6039-5c)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
George W. Bush.....	51	52	55	51	67	[27]
Richard Gephardt.....	35	36	29	32	21	
Depends (VOL).....	1	1	3	3	NA	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	5	5	6	3	
Not sure.....	8	6	7	8	9	

5d. If the next election for president were held today, and George W. Bush were running as the Republican candidate and Wesley Clark were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote? (6038-5b)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	
George W. Bush.....	50	49	45	[28]
Wesley Clark.....	34	37	38	
Depends (VOL).....	2	2	2	
Neither/other (VOL).....	4	5	5	
Not sure.....	10	7	11	

6a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (**IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:**) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (**IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN."** **IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:**) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (6036-7a)

Strong Democrat.....	17		[29]
Not very strong Democrat.....	9	Skip to Q.7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	12		
Strictly independent.....	17		
Independent/lean Republican.....	13		
Not very strong Republican.....	7	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican.....	17		
Other.....	6		
Not sure/nothing.....	3		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a.)

6b. If there were a presidential primary election in your state, would you vote in the Democratic primary, the Republican primary, or would you wait to vote in the general election? (6037-6b)

	<u>12/13/03</u>		<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	
		CONTINUE					[30]
Vote in the Democratic primary.....	10		7	10	9	6	
Vote in the Republican primary.....	40		39	37	39	41	
Wait until the general election.....	46	Skip to Q.10	48	44	46	44	
Neither/other (VOL).....	2		3	4	2	3	
Not sure.....	2		3	4	4	6	
			<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>		
			8	6	8		
			43	43	43		
			46	43	42		
			1	4	3		
			2	4	4		

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a OR THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN Q.6b.)

7. Let me mention some people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in 2004. If the next Democratic primary for president were being held today, for which one of the following candidates would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (6037-7)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	
Howard Dean.....	29	15	17	12	3	3	3	1	[31]
Richard Gephardt.....	12	12	8	11	16	14	17	14	
Wesley Clark.....	10	17	16	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Joe Lieberman.....	7	11	16	25	21	19	25	20	
John Kerry.....	6	11	11	14	17	13	14	16	
Al Sharpton.....	6	4	3	3	2	2	2	4	
John Edwards.....	5	5	4	4	5	4	7	3	
Carol Moseley Braun.....	3	3	1	5	4	4	NA	NA	
Dennis Kucinich.....	2	3	2	2	1	NA	NA	NA	
None (VOL) ¹	4	6	4	7	6	14	5		
Other (VOL).....	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	6	
Not sure.....	16	12	14	14	21	23	20	22	

¹ In December 2002, "None (VOL)" and "Other (VOL)" were one item.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED Q.7 AND DID NOT SAY "NONE," "OTHER," OR "NOT SURE.")

8a. And which of the following would you say is the most important reason why you would vote for this candidate if the Democratic primary were being held today – is it because of (his/her) **(READ ITEM)? (IF "ALL Equally Important," ASK:)** Well, if you had to choose just one, which one would it be?

TABLE RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER WHO SAY IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OR SECOND-MOST IMPORTANT REASON

	Q.8a Top Reason		Q.8a/b COMBINED Top/Second Reason
Positions on domestic issues, such as the economy and health care.....	26	[33]	45 [32]
Vision for the country.....	13		27
Leadership qualities, personality, and style.....	16		26
Position on the war in Iraq.....	7		19
Positions on social issues, such as gay marriage and abortion.....	6		13
Ability to defeat President Bush.....	8		13
Ability to serve as commander-in-chief.....	4	CONTINUE	11
All equally important (VOL).....	16	Skip to	18
Other (VOL).....	3	Q.9	3
Not sure.....	3		4

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED Q.8a AND DID NOT SAY "ALL Equally Important," "OTHER," OR "NOT SURE.")

8b. And which of these reasons would you say is the second most important reason – is it because of (his/her) **(READ ITEM)? (IF "ALL Equally Important," ASK:)** But if you absolutely had to choose, which ONE reason would you say comes next?

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE A DEMOCRAT IN Q.6a OR THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN Q.6b.)

9. Does former Vice President Al Gore's endorsement of Howard Dean make you more likely or less likely to support Howard Dean as the Democratic nominee for president, or does it not make much difference either way?

More likely to support Howard Dean as the Democratic nominee.....	25	[35]
Less likely to support Howard Dean as the Democratic nominee.....	13	
Doesn't make much difference either way..	59	
Depends.....	-	
Not sure.....	4	

10. In next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel that your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think that it is time to give a new person a chance? (6028-7)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	
Deserves to be reelected.....	44	42	41	50	49	49	42	48	[36]
Time to give a new person a chance.....	42	39	42	35	38	39	47	37	
Not sure.....	15	19	17	15	13	12	11	15	
		<u>12/97+</u>	<u>10/94+</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>		
		41	39	30	34	35	34		
		45	49	53	50	47	52		
		14	12	17	16	18	14		
		<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92+</u>	<u>9/92+</u>	<u>7/92+</u>	<u>4/92+</u>		
		37	30	31	31	27	33		
		47	55	56	56	62	57		
		16	15	13	13	11	10		
		<u>2/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>12/91+</u>	<u>10/91+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	<u>11/89+</u>		
		37	42	35	40	39	41		
		52	48	52	48	48	36		
		11	10	13	12	13	23		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

11. What is your preference for the outcome of next year's congressional elections —a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats? (6028-8)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	42	43	42	43	42	44	42	[37]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	42	42	42	41	41	40	40	
Not sure ²	16	15	16	16	17	16	18	
		<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	
		40	39	39	42	41	37	
		44	41	43	41	40	43	
		16	20	18	17	19	20	
		<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>
		41	40	41	39	37	41	40
		43	39	40	40	41	37	42
		16	21	19	21	22	22	18
		<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94¹</u>
		41	41	45	44	41	42	44
		37	39	39	38	38	41	38
		22	20	16	18	21	17	18

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

² The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

12. In next year's election for U.S. House of Representatives, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district? (**IF "NOT SURE," ASK:**) Well, which way do you lean at this time? (6028-9a)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Republican candidate.....	38	39	37	34	33	33	34	[38]
Democratic candidate.....	41	39	35	36	35	32	33	
Depends (VOL).....	9	9	12	15	15	19	16	
Other/neither/won't vote (VOL).....	2	3	5	5	3	4	3	
Not sure.....	11	10	11	10	14	12	14	
	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/98+</u>	
	40	34	32	32	30	30	35	
	43	36	34	36	36	36	37	
	8	14	15	16	18	22	14	
	2	4	5	6	4	3	2	
	7	12	14	10	12	9	12	
	<u>7/98+</u>	<u>6/98+</u>	<u>4/98+</u>	<u>1/98+</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	<u>9/96+</u>		
	33	34	30	32	38	36		
	35	37	37	36	39	42		
	16	16	20	22	8	7		
	2	3	1	2	1	2		
	14	10	12	8	14	13		
	<u>8/20-</u>	<u>8/2-</u>						
	<u>21/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>		
	37	38	37	35	35	36		
	38	38	40	40	40	39		
	11	10	10	10	10	9		
	2	2	1	1	1	2		
	12	12	12	14	14	14		
	<u>3/96</u>	<u>12/95¹</u>	<u>11/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>10/94+</u>	<u>9/94</u>		
	36	34	40	39	41	33		
	38	36	37	36	36	39		
	12	17	6	6	7	9		
	3	3	3	5	2	5		
	11	10	14	14	14	14		

¹ Prior to March 1996, this question was phrased, "election for U.S. Congress..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

13. In general, do you think that it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think that it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far? (6029-7a)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>12/95</u>	
Better if same party controls Congress and the presidency.....	32	29	41	41	33	34	25	43	42	[39]
Better if different parties control Congress and the presidency.....	57	62	47	47	60	55	67	44	48	
Not sure.....	11	9	12	12	7	11	8	13	10	
	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>10/92+</u>	
	33	36	30	33	30	37	32	28	39	
	55	55	59	56	58	51	61	62	47	
	12	9	11	11	12	12	7	10	14	
	<u>9/92+</u>	<u>8/92+</u>	<u>7/92+</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>10/91+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	<u>1/90+</u>	<u>9/86+</u>	
	40	43	40	32	28	24	23	24	28	
	46	44	47	61	62	67	67	63	64	
	14	13	13	7	10	9	10	13	8	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

14. Now, let me read you some concerns that people have raised about the Republican Party, and ask which ONE, if any, concerns you the most. (6002-9a*)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>12/99</u>	
They favor the wealthy and big corporations.....	27	25	[40]
They are too conservative on social issues, such as abortion.....	12	13	
They have gone too far on infringing on privacy and civil liberties.	12	NA	
They cut too many programs, such as those on the environment ¹ .	10	23	
They are not sensitive to the needs of minorities ²	7	6	
All (VOL).....	11	10	
None/other (VOL).....	16	14	
Not sure.....	5	4	

¹In December 1999, item was phrased, "They cut too many programs for people, like Medicare and education programs."

²In December 1999, item was phrased, "They don't go far enough in supporting civil rights for minorities."

15. Now, let me read you some concerns that people have raised about the Democratic Party, and ask which ONE, if any, concerns you the most. (6002-9b*)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>12/99</u>	
They are too liberal on social issues, such as abortion and gay rights.....	19	18	[41]
They are too willing to raise taxes for new government programs.....	16	18	
They are too negative and are always criticizing President Bush.....	13	NA	
They don't support a strong national defense.....	11	11	
They are too beholden to such interest groups as labor and minority groups.....	9	11	
All (VOL).....	11	12	
None/other (VOL).....	14	15	
Not sure.....	7	4	

16a. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Protecting the environment							
December 13, 2003 *	D-34	54	20	15	7	5	[48]
June 2002	D-30	44	14	26	11	5	
June 2001	D-37	52	15	21	7	5	
December 1999	D-29	43	14	25	11	7	
September 1998	D-33	45	12	30	9	4	
May 1996	D-28	45	17	18	3	7	
December 1995	D-32	45	13	20	13	9	
October 1993	D-29	44	15	13	22	6	
July 1992+	D-27	38	11	27	18	6	
October 1991	D-23	39	16	24	12	9	
Strengthening laws against corporate corruption							
December 13, 2003 *	D-21	43	22	15	13	7	[51]
October 2002+	D-13	37	24	20	13	6	
Dealing with prescription drugs for seniors							
December 13, 2003 **	D-20	41	21	15	14	10	[55]
October 2002+	D-28	44	16	18	14	8	
Dealing with health care							
December 13, 2003 *	D-18	43	25	14	13	6	[46]
October 2002+	D-25	46	21	19	11	3	
June 2002	D-22	38	16	23	18	5	
June 2001	D-21	41	20	21	12	6	
December 1999	D-26	43	17	21	13	6	
March 1999	D-24	42	18	23	12	5	
October 1998+	D-20	41	21	26	8	4	
September 1998	D-20	40	20	24	13	3	
June 1998	D-13	25	12	34	23	6	
May 1996	D-20	42	22	16	17	3	
December 1995	D-21	43	22	13	16	6	
October 1994	D-12	37	25	12	20	6	
July 1994	D-16	37	21	18	18	6	
May 1994	D-9	26	17	38	15	4	
October 1993	D-28	44	16	16	18	6	
March 1993	D-48	57	9	17	12	5	
July 1992+	D-34	44	10	21	19	6	
April 1992+	D-36	48	12	17	18	5	
October 1991+	D-34	46	12	18	16	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.16a (cont'd)	<u>Party Advantage</u>	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both About The Same	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with Social Security							
December 13, 2003 *	D-15	39	24	18	13	7	[45]
October 2002+	D-23	43	20	19	13	5	
June 2002.....	D-15	36	21	26	12	5	
June 2001.....	D-15	38	23	22	11	6	
December 1999.....	D-15	38	23	18	14	7	
March 1999.....	D-18	39	21	23	11	6	
October 1998+	D-23	44	21	25	6	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	37	21	25	13	4	
July 1998.....	D-9	28	19	34	14	5	
January 1998.....	D-11	26	15	34	18	7	
September 1997.....	D-14	33	19	18	22	8	
October 1996.....	D-12	36	24	17	15	8	
December 1995.....	D-22	44	22	14	14	6	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	16	15	8	
November 1994.....	D-5	32	27	15	16	10	
Dealing with education							
December 13, 2003 **.....	D-15	39	25	20	11	5	[56]
October 2002+	D-12	37	25	26	8	4	
June 2002.....	D-6	31	25	27	11	6	
June 2001.....	D-7	33	26	27	10	4	
December 1999.....	D-13	37	24	25	10	4	
March 1999.....	D-14	37	23	27	9	4	
October 1998+	D-19	40	21	28	7	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	38	22	29	8	3	
September 1997.....	D-20	40	20	22	12	6	
October 1996.....	D-23	46	23	14	9	8	
May 1996+.....	D-16	40	24	19	12	5	
December 1995.....	D-10	35	25	19	14	7	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	21	11	7	
October 1994.....	D-13	34	21	24	15	6	
October 1993.....	D-8	32	24	16	24	4	
July 1992+.....	D-25	42	17	25	12	4	
October 1991+.....	D-14	28	14	33	18	7	
October 1990+.....	D-18	33	15	30	14	8	
November 1989+.....	D-15	30	15	32	15	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.16a (cont'd)	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Reducing the federal deficit							
December 13, 2003 **.....	D-13	38	25	12	16	10	[59]
September 1997.....	R-8	23	31	22	18	6	
October 1996.....	R-3	29	32	11	19	9	
June 1995.....	R-21	16	37	17	26	4	
October 1993.....	D-4	27	23	27	18	5	
March 1993.....	D-23	39	16	23	18	4	
April 1992+.....	D-1	20	19	18	37	6	
October 1991+.....	R-5	24	29	16	24	7	
October 1990+.....	R-2	25	27	19	23	6	
Standing up to special interests							
December 13, 2003 **.....	D-11	36	25	15	16	8	[61]
September 1997.....	D-5	24	19	19	30	8	
October 1996.....	D-9	27	18	15	30	10	
October 1994.....	D-2	24	22	17	28	9	
October 1993.....	D-9	28	19	22	24	7	
March 1993.....	D-23	36	13	20	23	8	
Dealing with energy policy							
December 13, 2003 **.....	D-11	36	25	15	11	12	[60]
June 2001.....	D-8	35	27	19	10	9	
Dealing with abortion							
December 13, 2003 *.....	D-11	39	28	13	12	8	[52]
March 2000.....	D-8	31	23	17	17	12	
December 1999	D-6	30	24	18	18	10	
June 1999.....	D-8	31	23	21	16	9	
May 1996.....	D-9	34	25	10	22	9	
December 1995.....	D-13	33	20	15	21	11	
October 1994.....	D-7	31	24	12	20	13	
October 1993.....	D-8	33	25	19	14	9	
July 1992+.....	D-14	32	18	22	19	9	
May 1992.....	D-13	33	20	14	17	16	
April 1992+.....	D-15	34	19	19	17	11	
February/March 1992+.....	D-11	31	20	20	17	12	
October 1991+.....	D-14	36	22	14	15	13	
Dealing with gay marriage							
December 13, 2003 **.....	D-7	33	26	10	13	17	[58]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.16a (cont'd)	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Controlling government spending							
December 13, 2003 *	D-2	34	32	16	14	5	[49]
May 1996	R-28	15	43	12	24	6	
December 1995	R-19	19	38	12	26	5	
October 1994	R-13	21	34	12	28	5	
October 1993	R-8	19	27	29	20	5	
Dealing with the economy							
December 13, 2003 *	R-1	37	38	14	7	5	[43]
October 2002+	D-6	36	30	21	9	4	
June 2002	D-1	32	31	24	9	4	
June 2001	D-6	37	31	20	6	6	
December 1999	D-3	34	31	24	7	4	
March 1999	D-6	35	29	26	6	4	
September 1998	-	31	31	29	6	3	
September 1997	R-9	25	34	26	9	6	
October 1996	D-4	36	32	15	10	7	
May 1996+	R-4	26	30	27	14	3	
December 1995	R-8	22	30	27	17	4	
June 1995	R-12	17	29	29	23	2	
October 1994	R-8	22	30	28	16	4	
July 1994	R-11	18	29	32	17	4	
June 1994	R-5	21	26	39	12	2	
October 1993	R-5	22	27	20	28	3	
March 1993	D-16	34	18	34	11	3	
July 1992+	D-8	26	18	35	18	3	
May 1992	D-6	29	23	26	17	5	
January 1992+	D-5	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991+	R-1	27	28	26	14	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.16a (cont'd)	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with taxes							
December 13, 2003 **.....	R-3	34	37	12	9	9	[54]
October 2002+.....	R-5	31	36	17	11	5	
June 2002.....	R-6	27	33	20	15	5	
June 2001.....	R-8	28	36	20	11	5	
December 1999.....	R-3	30	33	19	13	5	
March 1999.....	R-6	29	35	20	12	4	
October 1998+.....	-	32	32	21	10	5	
September 1998.....	R-6	29	35	22	11	3	
September 1997.....	R-5	26	31	20	16	7	
October 1996.....	R-5	30	35	15	13	7	
May 1996+.....	R-9	25	34	17	19	5	
December 1995.....	R-8	26	34	14	20	6	
June 1995.....	R-13	22	35	15	22	6	
November 1994.....	R-13	23	36	16	17	8	
October 1994.....	R-15	23	38	17	18	4	
October 1993.....	R-11	23	34	16	23	4	
Protecting America's interests on trade issues							
December 13, 2003 *.....	R-5	29	33	19	8	11	[50]
December 1995.....	R-7	24	31	22	12	11	
October 1994.....	R-15	22	37	21	11	9	
July 1994.....	R-13	22	35	25	11	7	
October 1993.....	R-19	20	39	13	20	8	
July 1992+.....	R-9	23	32	24	15	6	
May 1992.....	R-8	24	32	21	12	11	
January 1992+.....	R-1	25	26	31	9	9	
October 1991+.....	R-14	22	36	21	10	11	
October 1990+.....	R-13	22	35	24	9	10	
Dealing with foreign policy							
December 13, 2003 **.....	R-13	28	41	15	7	9	[57]
June 2002.....	R-18	19	37	28	8	8	
December 1999.....	R-10	23	33	28	9	7	
March 1999.....	R-5	25	30	31	6	8	
September 1998.....	R-10	23	33	34	6	4	
October 1994.....	R-19	15	34	34	12	5	
October 1993.....	R-27	10	37	11	39	3	
July 1992+.....	R-33	15	48	24	7	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.16a (cont'd)	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with Iraq							
December 13, 2003 **.....	R-21	24	45	13	7	11	[53]
October 2002+.....	R-30	17	47	21	8	7	
Promoting strong moral values							
December 13, 2003 **.....	R-23	20	42	15	15	8	[62]
June 2001.....	R-22	18	40	23	16	3	
December 1999.....	R-21	16	37	23	20	4	
Dealing with the war on terrorism							
December 13, 2003 *.....	R-26	20	46	19	9	5	[44]
October 2002+.....	R-36	13	49	27	6	5	
Ensuring a strong national defense							
December 13, 2003 *.....	R-35	18	54	18	5	4	[47]
June 2002.....	R-39	11	50	29	4	6	
June 2001.....	R-41	14	55	21	5	5	
December 1999.....	R-28	18	46	24	6	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

17. Which political party do you think currently does a better job of appealing to people who are NOT among its hard-core supporters – the Democratic Party or the Republican Party? *

The Democratic Party does a better job.....	43	[63]
The Republican Party does a better job.....	40	
Both about the same (VOL).....	3	
Neither party does a good job (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

18. Compared to ten years ago, do you feel that the influence special interests have on the federal government is much greater, somewhat greater, about the same, somewhat less, or much less?

Much greater influence.....	34	[64]
Somewhat greater influence.....	24	
About the same amount of influence.....	27	
Somewhat less influence.....	8	
Much less influence.....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

19. Let me read you a number of different special interest groups, and please tell me which one or two you feel present the biggest problem because of their influence on decisions made in Washington? (**ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.**)

Major corporations like pharmaceutical and auto companies.....	47	[65]
.....		
Liberal organizations like the ACLU and gay rights groups.....	34	
Religious groups like the Christian coalition.....	18	
Labor Unions like the AFL-CIO and teachers unions.....	17	
Environmental groups like the Sierra Club.....	13	
Conservative groups like the American Conservative Union.....	8	
All (VOL).....	3	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

Now I'd like to turn to foreign policy ...

20. Do you think that the United States should or should not have taken military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? (6038-13)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/17/03¹</u>	
Should have taken military action.....	66	63	64	69	71	76	65	[66]
Should not have taken military action.....	30	34	33	27	24	17	30	
Not sure.....	4	3	4	5	5	7	5	
	<u>2/03²</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>4/02³</u>		
	60	56	59	60	58	57		
	27	36	30	31	30	28		
	13	8	11	9	12	8		

¹On March 17, 2003, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take..."

² Overnight poll conducted after Colin Powell's speech to the United Nations.

³In April 2002, the question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

21. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war? (6038-16)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	
Worth it.....	45	45	[67]
Not worth it.....	42	46	
Depends.....	6	3	
Not sure.....	6	5	

22. When it comes to how long American troops should stay in Iraq, which comes closer to your view? (6038-21)

Statement A: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq now or as soon as possible.

Statement B: American troops should be withdrawn from Iraq according to a specified timetable and leave within the next 18 months regardless of the situation at that time.

Statement C: American troops should stay as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years.

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Statement A/ As soon as possible.....	21	20	21	17	[68]
Statement B/ According to specified timetable, but within 18 months.....	23	28	26	23	
Statement C/ As long as necessary, even if five years.....	55	51	50	58	
Not sure.....	1	2	2	3	

23. Regardless of whether you think the United States should have gone to war with Iraq, would you say that the United States is very likely to succeed in Iraq, somewhat likely to succeed in Iraq, not very likely to succeed in Iraq, or not at all likely to succeed in Iraq?

Very likely to succeed in Iraq.....	34	[69]
Somewhat likely to succeed in Iraq.....	38	
Not very likely to succeed in Iraq.....	17	
Not at all likely to succeed in Iraq.....	7	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

24. The United States government recently announced that some major contracts for the reconstruction of Iraq will be limited to firms from the United States and other nations that joined military action against Saddam Hussein's regime. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view of this policy?

Statement A: This policy is appropriate, because only countries whose soldiers risked their lives in Iraq should receive financial rewards from the reconstruction.

Statement B: This policy is not appropriate, because it may hinder U.S. efforts to win more assistance now from countries that opposed the war, such as Germany and France.

Statement A/ Policy is appropriate.....	63	[70]
Statement B/ Policy is not appropriate.....	32	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	6	

Turning to the economy . . .

25. Over the past twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? (6038-23)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	
Economy has gotten better.....	45	38	27	23	18	6	7	[71]
Economy has gotten worse.....	27	29	41	42	44	65	57	
Economy has stayed about the same.	27	31	30	34	36	28	35	
Not sure.....	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
	<u>3/01¹</u>	<u>3/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>9/91</u>		
	17	6	2	3	6	8		
	44	73	78	74	67	57		
	38	20	19	22	26	33		
	1	1	1	1	1	2		
	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>		
	9	11	8	3	3	6		
	64	54	64	73	72	57		
	26	35	27	23	24	35		
	1	-	1	1	1	2		
	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
	11	11	12	12	12	15	18	
	37	36	30	30	29	34	23	
	51	52	56	56	57	49	57	
	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	

¹ Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

26. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same? (6038-24)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>5/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	
Economy will get better.....	53	49	44	45	49	35	40	41	[72]
Economy will get worse.....	10	15	19	16	16	25	20	20	
Economy will stay about the same.....	33	33	33	34	32	37	35	34	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	4	3	3	5	5	
		<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u> ¹	<u>10/98+</u>	
		39	41	50	50	36	28	17	
		18	20	13	15	25	29	24	
		39	37	32	32	34	37	54	
		4	2	5	3	5	6	5	
		<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
		19	19	21	20	24	31	31	
		22	22	21	21	23	17	24	
		53	57	52	54	50	46	40	
		6	2	6	5	3	6	5	
		<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>
		28	28	27	29	44	43	21	23
		24	17	21	16	16	19	27	24
		44	52	49	52	36	34	50	51
		4	3	3	3	4	4	2	2
		<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>
		20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31
		29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24
		48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40
		3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5

¹Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "During the next year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

27. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks." (6038-26)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>CONTINUE</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	
Applies.....	49		52	47	50	54	52	55	55	[73]
Does not apply.....	46	<u>Skip to</u>	44	49	46	44	46	43	43	
Not sure.....	5	<u>Q.29a</u>	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	
			<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	
			53	49	49	49	52	49	51	
			44	47	49	49	46	49	45	
			3	4	2	2	2	2	4	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST \$5,000 INVESTED IN Q.27.)

28. At this time, are you confident or not that confident about investing in the stock market? (6038-27)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	<u>1/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>10/02+</u>	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	[74]
Confident.....	56	53	49	42	39	36	31	32	31	
Not that confident.....	39	44	47	54	57	60	67	64	65	
Not sure.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	

+Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

29a. How effective do you think the Bush administration's economic plan has been in helping strengthen the economy during the past two-and-a-half years – very effective, somewhat effective, only a little effective, or ineffective? (6038-28)

	<u>12/13/03*</u>	<u>11/03</u>	<u>9/03</u>	<u>7/03</u>	[75]
Very effective.....	18	11	8	6	
Somewhat effective.....	28	36	32	32	
Only a little effective.....	24	23	24	28	
Ineffective.....	28	27	33	31	
Had mixed effects (VOL).....	-	1	1	1	
Not sure.....	1	2	2	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

29b. Do you think that the gains in the stock market in recent months are a sign of a broad economic recovery that will benefit nearly all Americans, or a sign of limited financial growth that will benefit mainly businesses and investors? **

Broad economic recovery that will benefit nearly all Americans.....	41	[76]
Limited financial growth that will benefit only businesses and investors.....	47	
Not sure.....	12	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

30. Would you say that today, at the end of 2003, you are better off financially, worse off, or about the same as you were at the beginning of the year? (6029-15b)

	<u>12/13/03</u>	<u>12/02</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	[77]
Better off.....	31	19	38	39	
Worse off.....	25	31	11	12	
About the same.....	44	50	51	49	
Not sure.....	1	-	-	-	

31a. Would you say that today, at the end of 2003, the country is better off economically, worse off, or about the same as it was at the beginning of the year? (6029-15c)

	<u>12/13/03*</u>	<u>12/02</u>	[78]
Better off.....	36	11	
Worse off.....	27	46	
About the same.....	34	40	
Not sure.....	3	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

31b. As you may know, government figures indicate that recently the U.S. economy grew faster than it has since the 1980s, but that unemployment improved only a little. Would you say that today, at the end of 2003, the country is better off economically, worse off, or about the same as it was at the beginning of the year? **

Better off.....	35	[79]
Worse off.....	18	
About the same.....	44	
Not sure.....	3	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

32. I'm going to mention a few negative elements of economic change from the last few years. For each, please tell me if you think that this is a long-term problem or if it is a short-term situation that will improve soon.*

	<u>Long-term Problem</u>	<u>Short-term Situation That Will Improve Soon</u>	<u>Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Manufacturing jobs are being moved to other countries.....	79	17	1	4	[81]
The federal budget has gone from a surplus to a deficit.....	65	30	-	4	[83]
The country has lost jobs, not created jobs, for the first time in 75 years.....	55	38	1	6	[84]
Unemployment has remained relatively high for the last three years.....	55	41	1	3	[82]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

33. I'm going to mention a few positive elements of economic change from the last few years. For each, please tell me if you think that this is a long-term improvement or if it is a short-term situation that will soon get worse.**

	<u>Long-term Improvement</u>	<u>Short-term Situation That Will Soon Get Worse</u>	<u>Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Worker productivity is at its highest point in 20 years.....	57	31	1	11	[89]
Recent economic growth has been at its highest point since 1983.....	43	39	3	15	[86]
Retail spending for the holidays is at its highest point since 1999.....	41	49	1	8	[88]
Unemployment dropped in November.....	38	51	3	9	[87]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

I'd like to turn briefly now to health care and a couple of other subjects . . .

34. As you may know, President Bush and the U.S. Congress recently approved a new law that expands Medicare to provide prescription drug benefits and creates a bigger role for private insurers in the federal health program. Do you favor or oppose this new law?

Favor this new law.....	55	[90]
Oppose this new law.....	33	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	12	

(ASK ONLY THOSE WHO SAY "FAVOR" IN Q.34.)

35a. And whom do you give credit for the success of the Medicare bill – President Bush and the Republicans in Congress, the Democrats in Congress, or both groups about equally?

President Bush and Republicans in Congress.....	24	[91]
Democrats in Congress.....	6	
Both groups equally.....	67	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	3	

(ASK ONLY THOSE WHO SAY "OPPOSE" IN Q.34.)

35b. And whom do you blame for the problems you see in the Medicare bill – President Bush and the Republicans in Congress, the Democrats in Congress, or both groups about equally?

President Bush and Republicans.....	41	[92]
Democrats in Congress.....	4	
Both groups equally.....	53	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	2	

36a. Which of the following do you think best describes the new Medicare bill?

It is an effective solution for the foreseeable future.....	8	[93]
It is a step in the right direction, but needs revisions and improvements.....	66	
It is a bad bill that could make things worse.....	19	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	6	

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAY "IT IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION" OR "IT IS A BAD BILL" IN Q.36a.)

36b. And which political party would you prefer to see take the lead in reforming the bill – the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

Would prefer to see Republican Party take the lead.....	38	[94]
Would prefer to see Democratic Party take the lead.....	48	
Both equally (VOL).....	8	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	4	

37. Which statement about the recently approved Medicare bill comes closer to your view?

Statement A: The new Medicare bill is a good idea, since it will assist America's seniors with rising prescription drug costs, while helping control Medicare costs by increasing the role of competing private insurers in Medicare.

Statement B: The new Medicare bill is a bad idea, since it will mainly help private drug and insurance companies get more Medicare money, while still leaving America's seniors with big gaps in coverage and costing many their current prescription drug coverage.

Statement A/Medicare bill helps seniors...	46	[95]
Statement B/Medicare bill helps private drug and insurance firms.....	42	
Some of both (VOL).....	8	
Neither comes close (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

38. Are you currently covered by Medicare? (IF "NO" OR "NOT SURE," CONTINUE TO QUESTION 34. IF "YES," ASK:) From what you have heard, would the prescription drug proposal just approved by Congress and President Bush help you, hurt you, or not make much difference either way? (6038-33)

No, not covered by Medicare.....	Skip to Q.34	[96]
Yes, covered; proposal would help...	12	
Yes, covered; proposal would hurt....	23	CONTINUE
Yes, covered; proposal would not make much difference.....	54	
Not sure.....	11	

39. As you may know, President Bush recently removed tariffs that his administration had placed on steel imported to the United States. Which of the following statements do you agree with more? **

Statement A: Removing the steel tariffs is a bad idea because it opens American steel companies and workers to unfair competition from cheap imports and shows America will back down to pressure from foreign nations.

Statement B: Removing the steel tariffs is a good idea because it reduces the cost of steel for American companies and consumers and helps prevent other nations from placing large tariffs on American goods sold overseas.

Statement A/ Removing the steel tariffs is a bad idea....	33	[97]
Statement B/ Removing the steel tariffs is a good idea..	49	
Not sure/Don't know enough.....	18	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

40a. Would you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples who are willing to make a life-long commitment through a legal contract to receive the same rights and benefits that heterosexual couples receive? *

Favor.....	43	[98]
Oppose.....	44	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

40b. Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages? (6036-46)

	<u>12/13/03**</u>	<u>7/03</u>	
Favor allowing same-sex marriages.....	32	32	[99]
Oppose allowing same-sex marriages.....	56	51	
Depends (VOL).....	2	4	
Not sure.....	9	13	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

41. Would you favor or would you oppose a constitutional amendment that defined marriage as a union only between a man and a woman and made same-sex marriages unconstitutional?

Favor a constitutional amendment.....	48	[100]
Oppose a constitutional amendment.....	44	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	6	

FACTUALS: Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	83	[101]
No, not registered.....	17	
Not sure.....	-	

F2. Are you currently employed?

(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager.....	24	[102]
White-collar worker.....	24	
Blue-collar worker.....	14	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	4	
Retired.....	19	
Unemployed, looking for work.....	5	
Other.....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

Yes, Voted	
Voted for George W. Bush.....	40
Voted for Al Gore.....	31
Voted for Ralph Nader.....	2
Voted for Pat Buchanan.....	-
Voted for other candidate (VOL).....	1
Not sure who voted for (VOL).....	1
No, Did Not Vote	
No, was too young to vote (VOL).....	1
Not Sure/Refused	
	2

F4. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	11	50-54.....	8	[104]
25-29.....	7	55-59.....	9	
30-34.....	8	60-64.....	9	
35-39.....	9	65-69.....	5	
40-44.....	13	70-74.....	5	
45-49.....	9	75 and over.....	7	
		Refused.....	1	

F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[105]
Some high school.....	5	
High school graduate.....	27	
Some college, no degree.....	20	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	21	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree....	10	
Doctoral/law degree.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F6. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	19	[106]
Moderate.....	47	
Conservative.....	31	
Not sure.....	3	

F7. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	25	[107]
Married.....	55	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	6	
Divorced.....	11	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	-	

F8a. Which of the following would you use to describe yourself – Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, agnostic, or none of these?

Protestant.....	40	CONTINUE	[108]
Catholic.....	21		
Jewish.....	2	Skip to Q.F8c	
Muslim.....	1		
Atheist/agnostic.....	6		
None of these.....	28	CONTINUE	
Not sure.....	1		
Refused.....	1	Skip to Q.F8c	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "PROTESTANT," "NONE OF THESE," OR "NOT SURE" IN Q.F8a.)

F8b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/Evangelical.....	22	[109]	
Protestant, Not Fundamentalist/			
Evangelical.....	20		
Protestant, Not Sure or Refused			
Fundamentalist, Evangelical.....	4		
Catholic.....	21		
Jewish.....	2		
Muslim.....	1		
Atheist/agnostic.....	6		
None of these.....	23		
Not sure.....	1		
Refused.....	1		

F8c. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never.....	20	[110]	
Once a year.....	6		
A few times a year.....	20		
Once a month.....	6		
About twice a month.....	8		
Once a week or more often.....	37		
Not sure.....	3		

F9. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	8	[111]	
Labor union household.....	4		
Non-union household.....	86		
Not sure.....	2		

F10. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?

Yes, gun in household.....	40	[112]
No, no gun in household.....	58	
Not sure.....	2	

F11a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic.....	9	[113]
No, not Hispanic.....	90	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F11b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	76	[114]
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	5	
Hispanic (VOL).....	6	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[115]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	11	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	10	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	9	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	11	
More than \$100,000.....	15	
Not sure/refused.....	11	